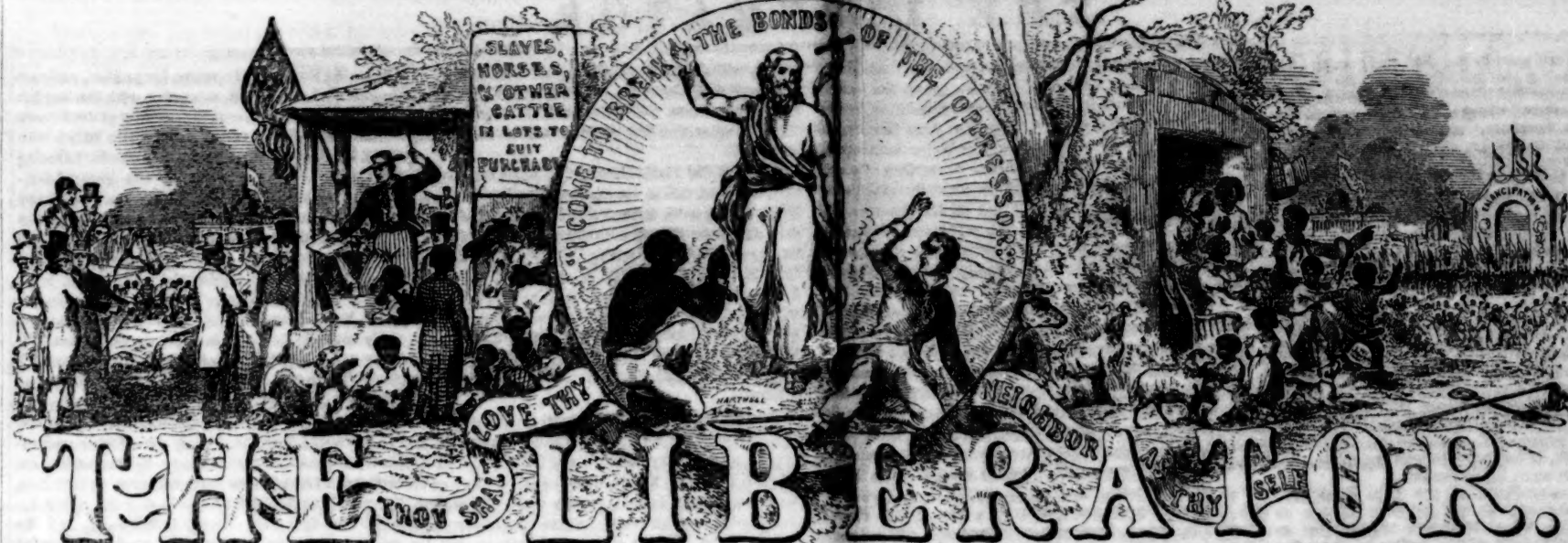


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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'  
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORE BY THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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## SELECTIONS.

### MANIFEST DESTINY OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

The Empire of the French mauled herself, a few months since, with pretending to represent the claims of the ladies of Europe about the comet which was to strike the earth in the course of June, 1857. She played off a man of science at one of her evening receptions, with an affection of panic about her countenance, trying to make him ridiculous between his eagerness to show how absurd her idea was, and his eagerness for the person to whom he was speaking. What he endeavored to convey was the same comfort that has been administered to timid Englishmen—that, in the first place, the comet would not come near us; and, in the next, that if it did strike the earth, we should not find it out, but simply enjoy a misty weather. The Americans and their revolutions are illustrated by such cometary fancies. An American, like an Englishman or a German, starts at the word revolution, deprecates it, prays to heaven against it, disavows and denies it when it begins to envelope him, and, while he is in the very midst of it, insists that, however gloomy the political times are, he sees nothing like clouds and destruction, and cannot therefore be passing through a revolution.

In 1790, the accession of young King George was joyfully celebrated in the colonies, and New England did not enough congratulate itself on belonging to old England, with its train of great names and its measures of liberty. The year after, the townsmen of these colonies were vexed and irritated by the new grievance of custom-house officers entering their ships, by force of law, at all times of the day or night, in order to search for smuggled goods. This was done in virtue of Writts of Assistance, invented and issued for the purpose; and they were the first fruits of the determination of the British government to tax the colonies without their consent. They brought out an able lawyer on the platform of public affairs, whose voice of resistance echoed through the whole of the colonies. James Otis thus made proclamation of the war of ideas which issued in the independence of the United States. It was the inspiring of the comet upon the regular old orb; but nobody was aware of the moment of collision. Revolution! O dear, no! Nothing was further from people's thoughts than revolution. James Otis declared himself ready to sacrifice his very life in defense of colonial rights; but the Americans were the most docile subjects that the English monarchy could boast. Four years later, when the Stamp Act was to be enforced, the ominous step was taken of sending delegates from all the colonies, to consider how their liberties were to be sustained; and in the meantime, the Boston people hanged their enemies in effigy, saw their courts closed rather than see the obnoxious stamps, and sent back ships laden with merchandise—resolved to endure the inconvenience of the scarcity of such commodities, rather than to pay arbitrary import duties. They wore old clothes; abolished the wearing of mourning at funerals; killed no more lambs till there was wool enough, and brought other colonies into a non-importation compact. But nobody dreamed that this was revolution. Why, it was later than that—late as September, 1768—that the convention of delegates from a hundred towns assembled in Boston, humbly petitioned the King, and professed their loyalty in the strongest possible terms:—

'We hold that the sovereignty of His Majesty, King George III., is entire in all parts of the British Empire. God forbid that we should ever act or wish anything in derogation of the same! We appear as plain, honest men, humbly desiring peace and order; and while the people observe a medium between abject submission and a slavish stupidity under grievous oppressions on one hand, and illegal attempts to obtain relief on the other, and steadily persevere in constitutional applications to recover their just rights and liberties, they think they may promise themselves success.'

What could be less like revolution than this? Yet there stands a significant entry in the diary of John Adams, when he had been listening to James Otis:—'At home with my family, thinking.' Even after the Boston Massacre, as it was called, when his lives were lost in a collision between British soldiers and American citizens, the avowal of a desire to continue subject to British government is found in records of all public meetings; though the growing particularity may perhaps suggest that the idea of separation was becoming more familiar. In 1771, Dr. Franklin said that the seeds of disunion were being sown; but even he did not perceive that it was more harvest than seed-time. Even when the people were incited to emulate the courage and faith of their fathers, who 'made a settlement on bare creation,' being not afraid of poverty, but disdaining slavery, all resistance was to be conducted 'under the shield of the British Constitution, and in strict adherence to their charter.' Towards the close of 1774, when night fell on a day of trouble and vague portents, a mother and her young children, in the neighborhood of Boston, listened for the return of the head of the household, who was later than usual. His wife helped him off with his coat, and brought his slippers; and when the children were gone to bed, she showed her husband how well it was that it was none but herself who took charge of his shoes. They were full of tea! But for this, even she would never have known so much as one of the fifty men who, with coats wrong side out, and covered faces, threw the tea into the dock. But this couple were far as any one else from dreaming that they were helping to enact a revolution, though they were within three years of the Declaration of Independence! It now began to be agreed, it is true, 'that if they would maintain their rights and liberties, they must fight for them'; and they did fight for them as soon as the spring of 1775; but it is on record that the citizens who rallied

and marched the militia after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord, and the women who nursed the wounded, had, even then, no notion that they were in the middle of revolution. They were as ready as ever to start back from the word; and they went on supposing, as they had done for fifteen years, that matters would be accommodated, and that they and their children should live and die under their charters, as their fathers had done before them. They were then actually the nucleus of the dreadful comet, while they declared that their atmosphere was too gloomy for them to see far, but that such a thing as a comet was certainly nowhere within ken.

Our readers are by this time making comparisons, no doubt, between the incidents and feelings belonging to the first American revolution, and those which have for some time past, and with perpetual increasing force and clearness, indicated a second. We believe we have the means of showing that a second great revolution is not only approaching, but actually far advanced, and that some of the wisest and best of American citizens have so far profited by the lessons of their fathers as to be fully aware of their real position, though a vast majority still insist, as the new President did in his inauguration address, that 'all is calm,' because his party has carried the election. During the fifteen years preceding the separation of the American colonies, almost every body supposed, as often as there was a lull, that matters were settled; and in like manner the President and all commonplace people among the millions whom he addressed in March last, are satisfied that the declaration of the poll was sufficient to annul all the controversies and collisions which had lately caused the Union to ring with threats and promises of dissolution on either hand. When observers stroked their chins, and remark that the state of things looks very like revolution, the old reply comes up, 'Revolution! O dear, no! nothing of the sort! The Union is so dear to the American people, that no lapse of ages will dissolve it.' And the laugh raised against such observers is at least as contemptuous as any ridicule directed against trembling inquirers after the comet of June, 1857.

We are glad to see, by Mr. Chambers' latest work, that he has awakened from the state of unconscience of the crisis with which, like most Europeans, he was infected by the Americans while on their territory. His first impressions were of the brilliant features of the destiny of the great Republic. Retrospect and reflection at home have had the happy effect of revealing to him the awful peril which underlies the apparent prosperity, and the extent of the fatal barbarism which threatens the whole structure of American civilization. With a candor highly honorable to him, Mr. Chambers puts the public in immediate possession of his latest convictions, and his work is just the compilation that is wanted for use in England, as far as the historical and statistical particulars go. We still observe the defect which was so striking in Mr. Chambers' former work—his insensibility, to the character and function of the American abolitionists; and this is to be regretted, not only for the sake of justice, but because the character and function of that body are indisputably the leading element in the question—What is to become of a republic laden with the curse of slavery, in an age too advanced for it? Mr. Chambers despairs of the result: he sees none but a calamitous issue from the crisis. No other conclusion is possible to him; but his conclusion would be different, and his views infinitely more cheerful, if he were but aware of the history, quality, and actual influence of a body, with whom it is clear he had not only no intercourse when in the United States, but whom he has yet to learn to estimate. To state the problem with a curt dismissal of the abolitionists, because they are few, is like the account which might have been given of the disturbances of the Church three centuries ago—Luther and his disciples being passed over, because they were only a handful of men. This is an omission which largely affects Mr. Chambers' conclusions, of course; but, this caution being given, the book may be used with confidence, and will, we trust, be extensively and thankfully read, for the sake of the mass of facts which he has brought together in a statement almost as alarming to the English public, who can say what they feel about American destinies, as to Americans, who cannot, under their present circumstances, employ equal freedom of speech.

A few lines will indicate something of the importance of the element omitted by Mr. Chambers; and if they should suggest to him the one remaining duty which would complete his good work—that of studying the history and function of the abolitionists—we have no doubt that the same candor which admitted of such progress as he has already made, will lead him on to conclusions more consolatory and animating than he can at present form in regard to the issue of the American struggle.

To the abolitionists proper belongs the honor of all the ameliorations in the condition of the slaves of the South, and of the free blacks of the North, for the last quarter of a century. They fixed the attention of the world on the treatment of the slaves, and thereby improved that treatment—the slaveholders being at least as sensitive to the world's opinion as other classes of their countrymen. In the North, so far from deserving the reproach which Mr. Chambers directs against them, of inhuman and practical aversion to the colored race, they have earned the opprobrious title of 'amalgamationists' from the South by their success in opening to the free blacks the colleges, the pulpits, and the common schools of their communities, as well as the steamboat and the omnibus, the concert room and church-sittings, with collateral benefits in proportion. By their stout warfare with the prejudice of

color, they have brought on themselves a long series of fearful persecutions. Their houses have been laid in ruins, their public halls burnt, their children excommunicated, their lives threatened and embittered with insult. They have watched with increasing vigilance over such liberties as were provided by the Constitution, and so analyzed that Constitution as to prove to all minds that it must be amended before the Republic can ever again be tranquilized. By this small band of devoted and enlightened men and women, the conscience of the nation has been kept alive, and the country has been revolutionized, thus far, without violence and bloodshed, by the force of reason and conscience. The revolutionary crisis being (as is agreed on all hands) inevitable, its being accomplished by other means than a servile war will be due to the abolitionists, if that fearful catastrophe should be indeed escaped. Superficial observers, and strangers indoctrinated by the slaveholders and their creatures, the Colonization Society, have been apt lately to despise the abolitionists on account of the smallness of their numbers, and their severance from all political parties; but a deeper sagacity and the most ordinary impartiality will discern that these two particulars are the very secret of their influence. It is because they know that political factions can never regenerate the public that they keep aloof from parties, and thus maintain their ground and their power through all political changes; and it is through their abstinence from intrigue on the one hand, and violence on the other, that their numbers must ever be small. To obtain any great accession of numbers, they are not likely to do after a quarter of a century of severe temptation can beset them again, and after achieving an amount of success which renders their principle and procedure unquestionable by all rational persons who understand the case. The range of their services has been wide and various. The condition of the slaves, in regard to material treatment, has been greatly equalized and improved by the attention of the world being fixed upon their case; the false pretences of all dishonest parties have been continuously exposed; the Church, the judiciary, the legislatures, and all leading men in each department, have been tested, and their true quality exhibited. The worldliness of the commercial North has been rebuked as effectually as the despotism of the slaveholding South: the whole country has been roused to a sense of the approaching crisis; and, while the field has been cleared for the conflict, the slave population has been deterred from insurrection. Before 1832, when the first abolitionist spoke his first word, the slave insurrections averaged twelve in a year; whereas, from 1832 to 1856, there was no insurrection whatever. The slaves were aware that their cause was in better hands than their own, and they waited patiently till, in the course of the election of last year, Southern men themselves imprudently identified the success of Fremont with the abolition of slavery, and thus, according to their own confession, made themselves answerable for a partial rising. Even so bare a recapitulation as we have given of the services of the abolitionists may be welcome to the readers of Mr. Chambers' latest work, as opening some prospect of a good and happy issue where to him all appears perplexing and desperate. The ten righteous men, having wrought for so long, may save the city yet.

Before we survey the recent transactions of the respective sections and States of the Union, it may be well to denote the various parties concerned in the existing struggle and its issue. We do not mean to waste any space in describing the political parties whose very denominations are a ludicrous puzzle to strangers. Such parties rise and disappear like bubbles on a turbulent stream; so that they are hardly worth a stranger's attention in ordinary times. But, at present, scarcely any of them appear to exist. The current of events is too strong for them; the times are too grave for political skirmishing; and the whole people are massed in sections characterized by distinctions which cannot be admitted and discussed in a day.

The leading sections are the North and the South, of course; but it is a mistake to suppose that the division of the men is as clear as the distinction of the policy. The South has a policy; and as it is a slaveholding policy, the very small body of slaveholders usurps the title of the Southern section. Of the 27,000,000 of inhabitants of the United States, less than 350,000 are slaveholders in any sense; and it is computed that, of these, not more than 1000 are indoctrinated and zealous slaveholders. Of whom, then, does the so-called 'South' really consist? There are, as we have said, 350,000 slaveholders; and if their connections of every sort are included, the entire oligarchy cannot consist of more than 2,000,000. Then there are, at least, 4,000,000 slaves. The slaves being double the number of the ruling class is a formidable circumstance in itself; and it becomes of proportionate importance to learn what the remaining element is. That element it has been the policy of the South to keep out of view, and till lately it has succeeded; but the late census revealed the fact that the 'mean-whites' population of the South—the non-slaveholding whites—constitute no less than seven-tenths of the whole free population of the slave States. In the 'History of American Compromises,' this class of inhabitants is thus described:—

'Wherever slavery exists, labor becomes, of course, a badge of degradation. In America, no class—not even the slaves—are so utterly degraded as the whites, who, in slave States, have no property, and must live by work, or theft. The planters are always trying to get rid of them, as dangerous and vexatious neighbors; and these poor wretches—the descendants, for the most part, of the proud colonists of two centuries ago—are reduced to sell their last foot of land, and be driven forth to live where they can. They are receivers of stolen goods from plantations, and traffickers in bad whiskey, doing no honest work that they can avoid, and being employed by nobody who can get work done by any other hands. Few of them

can read; most of them drink; and the missionaries report them as savage to an unparalleled degree, many having never heard of God or of Jesus Christ. Of this class are the "Sand-bills," the "Clay-eyes," and other fearful a-normal classes of residents in the slave States. Strangers hear, in visits to the plantations, of these "mean-whites" as the supreme nuisance of the South, but are led to suppose that they are a mere handful of people, able to do a good deal of mischief by tampering with and corrupting the slaves. The late census, however, reveals the tremendous fact, that these "mean-whites" are seven-tenths of the whole white population of the slave States.'—p. 29.

The readers of Mrs. Stowe's 'Dred' need no further representation of the mode of life of these people; and the facts of their position—their numbers, possessions, occupations, and social standing—are exhibited with fullness and precision in Mr. Olmsted's work on 'The Seaboard Slave States.'

Here, then, we have the three classes which constitute the population of the South:—1st. The owners of property and their families, composed of a small caste of 2,000,000 of persons; 2d. Their slaves, now more than double the number of the oligarchy; and 3d. The poor whites, who have neither property nor power to labor, and who outnumber the other two classes together. Till very recently, these were literally all: for free negroes are excluded from slave States by law and usage, and in fact; and white labor cannot co-exist with black. But the eagerness of the Southern oligarchy to extend the area of slave States has led to the unexpected issue of slavery being stopped in its spread to the south west by the intervention of a substantial industrial body of immigrants. Mr. Olmsted's volume on 'Texas' informs us that the number of Germans in that State, at the beginning of the present year, is computed at 35,000, of whom about 25,000 are settled in the German and half-German counties of Western Texas.

'Among the Germans of the West (of Texas) we met not one slave-owner; and there are not probably thirty among them all who have purchased slaves. The whole capital of most of them lies in their hands; and with these, every black hand comes into tangible and irritating competition. With the approach of the slave, too, comes an implied degradation, attaching itself to all labor of the hands. The planter is by no means satisfied to find himself in the neighborhood of the German. He is not only by education ungenial, as well as suspicious of danger to his property, already somewhat precariously near the frontier, but finds, in his turn, a direct competition of interests, which can be readily comprehended in figures. The ordinary Texan wages for an able field-hand are \$200. The German laborer hires at \$150, and clothes and insures himself. The planter for one hand must have paid \$1,000. The German with this sum can hire six hands. It is here the contact galls.'—A Journey through Texas, p. 432.

The reader of Mr. Olmsted's charming narrative of his experience among the German settlers will need no arguments to convince him that any conflict between free and slave labor on that fair field must issue in the defeat of the latter. Mr. Olmsted says:—

'I have been this particular in describing the condition and attitude of the Germans, as the position in which fortune has placed them, in the very line of advance of slavery, is peculiar; and, so far as it bears upon the questions of the continued extension of cotton limits, the capacity of whites for independent agriculture at the South, and the relative profit and vigor of free and slave labor, is of national interest.'—p. 440.

Here, then, is a fourth element of Southern population, small at present, but steadily increasing, and admirably placed for driving back slavery from the south-western frontier. The planters fear and hate this element; the negroes love it, as far as they recognise it; and the 'mean-whites' hardly know what to make of it. The Germans, meantime, have no liking for any of the three classes of neighbors.

How are the 17,000,000 of the North massed in regard to political questions? Their numbers alone would seem to give them power to carry any point in which they believed the welfare of the Republic to be involved; and when it is remembered that the suffrage is bona fide in the Northern States, while in the South three fifths of the slaves count as voters by a constitutional fiction, strangers may well wonder how it is that the freemen of the North, being much more than double the number of those of the other section, permit any conflict which can endanger their country. Hitherto, it seems to have been the business of the slaveholding aristocracy to govern the Republic for their own purposes, in virtue of their compact organization, their strong and united will, and their accomplishments as men of letters and leisure; whereas the freemen of the North have had only a negative policy with regard to the great subject on which the South has a positive one; and the next great question, that of protection and free-trade, is one which is supposed to render the commercial and manufacturing portion of the Republic dependent on the producing section—the merchants and manufacturers on the cotton-growers. Hence, mainly, it is, that the vast body of free, industrious and prosperous inhabitants of the Union are regarded only as a party, and a subordinate party, in the political history of the country. It is obvious that whenever the prestige of the governing party is shaken, and the bulk of the free population is fairly roused to honest political exertion, the Constitution of the United States may become whatever they choose to make it, by means peaceable in proportion to the preponderant force of numbers. But they are not roused to honest political exertion; and hence it is that, though the Southern oligarchy are deteriorated in ability, degraded in morals, and brutalized in manners, as a necessary consequence of a protraction of slave institutions into an age too advanced for them, their able and more civilized fellow-countrymen of the North are involved in a revolutionary struggle, instead of carrying their government up to the head of the free governments of the world. This immense population, which lives in subservience to half a million of fellow-citizens, consists of hundreds of thousands of merchants, millions of land-owners, innumerable clergy of all denominations, multitudes of other professional

men, large corporate bodies of manufacturers, and crowds of individual producers in all crafts. The only part of the 17,000,000 of the North not included in this mass of freemen are the two classes of immigrants and free colored people. The latter are few, though more numerous than the slaveholders. They are somewhat under half a million, and they have no political weight at present, except in an indirect way, by their political competency and rights being one of the questions of the controversy. Till quite recently, the full importance of the immigrant element of the population was not recognised, though the slave States have manifested a growing jealousy of the labor-power by which the superiority of the North in wealth and prosperity has been created. The formation of the Know-Nothing party—a Southern device—was the first great recognition of the vital importance of the foreign industrial element,—being neither more nor less than an admission that slavery and immigration could not co-exist in the Republic. A similar testimony was afforded when, on the disappearance of the Know-Nothing party, some Southern governors and legislatures opened the fresh project of a renewal of the African slave trade. The Northern States have borne the same testimony by the formation of the Emigrant Aid Societies; the object of which is not so much the keeping up of the supply of laborers in the old States, as the settlement of fresh territory,—at once preventing the extension of slavery over new soil, and giving the benefit of the increase of production to the commercial North, instead of the agricultural South. This important body of citizens—the European element—consists chiefly at present of Germans, whom we have just seen actually turning back the tide of slavery on its remotest frontier, and who afford a good rampart on the Northern frontier,—in Illinois, Indiana, and the lack of Pennsylvania and New York. The distinctive and highly useful characteristic of the Germans is, that they are commonly capitalists and laborers in one. So are the Hungarians, Belgians, Dutch and Swedes, while the Irish afford an element more resembling the slave labor of the South than any other that can be found in the free States. The whole body is, in combination, one of vast and growing consequence.

Lastly, there is the very small body of Abolitionists, properly so called. In number, probably much under one in a thousand of the citizens, standing outside of political life and action altogether, and combined by no other bond than that of hostility to an institution which every body about them ostensibly condemns, they make no show to account for their importance. We do not include under the term any political party which assumes any convenient portion of their doctrine; because it is clear to all impartial persons that the great problem now harassing the Republic cannot be solved by the ascendancy of any political party. We are, therefore, classing the Free-Soil party, and every other transient embodiment of the great difficulty, with the general mass of the Northern population; and when we speak of the Abolitionists, we mean the permanent, small, active, agitating anti-slavery body, to which the South attributes all its woes, and which really is answerable for the critical condition of the question at this day. There is no truth in the Southern accusation, that the Abolitionists tamper with the slaves, or countenance violence in any form, or under any pretence. The great majority of them are non-resistants, and moral means are their only weapons; but they are, as the Slave Power says, the antagonistic power by which the destiny of the Republic have been pledged to a principle, as in the days of their fathers, and as whose instigation the conflict must be carried through, and the fate of the nation decided. They are the actual revolutionizers of the Republic, while for the most part peace-men in the doctrinal sense of the term. The difference between them and the amateur peace-men of some European societies is, that they do not consider the shedding of blood the greatest of evils, but simply an inexpedient method of prosecuting their aim; and thus they are not bound to 'cry peace where there is no peace,' but will not cease to agitate while the wrong is unrectified; and, at the same time, their mode of procedure is of incalculable value where the solution to be apprehended is that of servile war on the one hand, and a military despotism on the other.

These, then, are the sections of the population, North and South, among and by whom the second great American revolution is to be wrought out. What has been done up to this time? What is doing now? By what phenomena are we justified in speaking of American affairs as in a revolutionary state at this moment? We will cast a glance round that great circle of grouped sovereignties, and see what social symptoms are exhibited from point to point within the frontier. For the history of the question on which the fate of the Union hangs, we refer our readers to the sketches offered in the works of Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Harriet Martineau. The economical condition and much of the social character of the slave States are fully and most ably exhibited in Mr. Olmsted's two volumes. The very high quality of both these books of Mr. Olmsted sustains the eminent reputation of American travel, as a branch of literature in which our countrymen of the Northern States excel most other men; and we should enjoy the task of justifying our admiration in this case by a full review of Mr. Olmsted's works; but our immediate object is to mark the revolutionary indications of the country and time. A brief and cursory survey of existing affairs will, we think, convince all observers that to deny that the American Republic is, to be very like the inexperienced generation who heard the firing at Lexington and Concord, and saw the tea shot into the harbor, without any notion that the colonies had cut themselves adrift from the mother-country.

The survivors of the founders of the Republic believed—we now see how wisely—that the first move in the second revolution was made in 1820. Thoughtless persons wondered at the solemnity of their language; but time is fully justifying it. In 1827, when there was a distribution of lands belonging to Virginia, the establishment of slavery on new territory was prohibited; and nobody called in question the power of the National Congress of that day to impose such a prohibition. During the thirty following years, there was no dispute on the point; and it was with dread and surprise that, in 1819, the venerable statesmen of the Revolution began to apprehend the course which the South is following out at this moment. It was on the occasion of the Missouri Compromise that the doubt was insinuated whether Congress could impose conditions on the admission of new States into the Union. In the 'History of American Compromises,' we find an account of the emotions excited by an anticipation of what we are seeing now:—

'The prohibition of slavery on the distribution of the Virginia lands in 1787 proves that the slave was no matter of doubt at that time; yet it was now contested, in the teeth of as many as survived of the very men who had made the Constitution, and distributed the lands. The conflict was fierce; and it embittered the latter days of the patriots who yet survived—Jefferson, Jay, Adams, Marshall, and indeed all the old political heroes. "From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris," says Jefferson to Adams, "we never had so ominous a question. I thank God I shall not live to witness its issue." Again, after the compromise—"This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only—not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral or political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper." Jay wrote—"I concur in the opinion that slavery ought not to be permitted in any new territory; and that it ought to be gradually diminished, and finally abolished, in all of them." The most cautious of politicians, Judge Story, never threw himself into any great public question but once, and this was the occasion. He spoke in public on behalf of the absolute prohibition of slavery, by express Act of Congress, in all the Territories, and against the admission of any new slaveholding State, except on the unalterable condition of the abolition of slavery. He grounded his argument on the Declaration of Independence and on the Constitution of the United States, as well as on the radical principle of Republicanism. When the result was trembling in the balance, and the issue seemed to depend on the vote of six waverers, Judge Story predicted a settlement by compromise—a present yielding to the South on condition that it should be for the last time; this "last time," however, involving the admission of the two waiting States, whose climate and productions afforded an excuse for slavery, to which Missouri could not pretend. A short and present sentence, in a letter of Judge Story, shows that a new light had begun to break in upon him at Washington, which might make him glad of such a compromise, as a means of gaining time for the preservation of the Union. After relating the extraordinary pretensions of the South, he concludes thus:—"But this say but little; I will talk about it on my return; but our friends in general are not ripe for a disclosure of the great truths respecting Virginia policy."

For thirty-seven years, the great constitutional question has come up again on all marked occasions, and under many phases, till the present year, when all the conditions of revolution are fulfilled, and there appears to be no escape from the alternative of an overthrow of the original Constitution of the Republic, or its preservation by means of a separation of the States. To this issue the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott seems to have brought the great controversy, which may be briefly thus described.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, there is a paragraph which was struck out as unnecessary. It charged George III. with the crime of the slave trade, among the other offences there set forth in solemn order. Mr. Chambers saw this document in the rooms of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; and he naturally considers it 'the greatest archaeological curiosity' that he saw in the country. When that paper was drawn up, slavery existed in all the States; but its abolition was so near and certain in many of them, and the universal dislike of it appeared to be so strong, that even the far-sighted Franklin believed that it would soon be got rid of, with other mischiefs imposed by the connection with England. We have Lafayette's testimony, given in grief at the bad spirit which had grown up between 1776 and 1830, that during the revolutionary war, there was no distinction between the blacks and the whites as soldiers and citizens. Soldiers of the two races bivouacked together, eating out of the same dish, as well as fighting side by side; and in the towns, the free colored men were citizens, in every sense as good as the whites. Even so late as 1814, nearly the same position was held by the black soldiers, as is proved by General Jackson's address to them a few weeks before the battle of New Orleans. 'As sons of freedom,' the General wrote, 'you are called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence for a valorous support, &c. In a subsequent address, the recognition of the citizenship of the negroes was as ample as possible. "When on the banks of the Mobile," he says, "I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glories of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you, &c. When the Americans began to govern themselves, therefore, and for long after, the condition of the negro race was this: Those who were slaves were rapidly obtaining freedom by the abolition of slavery in State after State; all importation of negroes was forbidden after 1808; and the emancipated slaves became citizens in the fullest sense of the term. While the eradication of slavery was supposed to be thus proceeding in the settled States, the institution was excluded from new territory by express provision, as in the case of the distribution of the Virginia lands, under the compact of 1787. The mischief and disgrace of the institution were charged upon Great Britain, fairly and sincerely; and there was more or less reason for the excuse of





